

AMERICA

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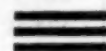
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COMMENT ON THE WEEK

Goebbels' All-Out War Effort. The lengthy broadcast from Berlin of Propaganda Minister Goebbels told the story of the anti-Hitler plot and the events on July 20 of this year, and made a frantic plea for all-out German war effort. The story of the plot, etc., is the type of history one would expect Herr Goebbels to produce. His terrific threats at the end may be discounted as ninety per cent "boast or bluff," to use his own phrase, even when he says that his heart stood still in awe at the sight of Germany's latest armament. But with all this discounting, there is a real cause for anxiety, and it is caused less by what Goebbels says than by the circumstances under which he says it. As we mention elsewhere in this issue, the purge of the officers and generals marks the eventual triumph of the extremist left element among the Nazis. At long last, Goebbels himself is on top, along with Himmler, and the last restraint is removed from the exercise of any and every type of warfare that this totally uninhibited group of fanatics may choose to wield. In other words, when Goebbels talks no longer of being dependent upon a "single weapon," when he says that "nothing must be left untried by us," he may be meaning this in a very terrible and literal sense: that of poison gas and bacterial warfare. With all its cruelty and malice, the German army appears to have placed a few final restraints upon the "Hitler Gang" in their choice of means to an end. Now the last bars are down, and mobilization is in every sense "total," as an alternative to total defeat. With a master of spiritual poison and pestilence in full control, we may yet have to face their physical counterparts.

Out of the Bretton Woods. The monetary agreements drawn up at Bretton Woods are too important to become the football of party politics or of partisan interests. They can hardly be perfect—no compromise ever is; but they represent a serious attempt to solve a world-wide problem of the first urgency. They merit, and will receive, the serious consideration of Congress; they merit—and we trust they will receive—an impartial and thoughtful consideration by all experts on the subject. The public interest is not well served, however, by intemperate attack, almost before the signatures on the agreements are dry. Even one who knows nothing of monetary science must boggle at editorial denunciation of the work of the financial experts of forty-odd nations as being "built upon so many obvious economic absurdities." The mere fact of agreement means nothing, we are assured, "unless, indeed, it means that the people of the United States should be suspicious of the whole business." This kind of skepticism, fed to the public by a responsible newspaper, is miles apart from the scientific and critical attitude that the agreements call for. It is precisely the type of suspiciousness that can lead to a disastrous economic isolationism.

States Rights and Education. On the issue of the Government's role in education, the new Democratic platform underscores the principle of States' Rights. "We favor Federal aid to education administered by the States without interference by the Federal Government." Whether Federal aid can be so neatly detached from Federal interference remains to be seen. There is small comfort for the affirmative view in the educational provisions of the so-called GI Bill of Rights, passed by the 78th Congress and signed by the President on June 22. This Bill (now Public Law

346) makes the Federal Government, not the several States, *administrator* of veterans' education. It seems to say that what the Government pays for, it will also control. Of course the Federal Administrator of the GI Bill is expressly forbidden to exercise either supervision or control over any State educational agency or any educational institution. Yet he alone is authorized and empowered to administer the Bill. Among his wide powers are those to give individual veterans permission to change a course of study, to remove them from training if their work does not meet the requirements of the institution they are attending, to arrange for educational and vocational guidance to persons eligible for education and training, and to prescribe from time to time such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the purpose and provisions of the Bill. It is difficult not to see that this *is* control, however much it may be disguised. The GI Bill is temporary; its provisions terminate when returning veterans have reaped its benefits. The question is: does it provide a gloss for interpreting the educational plank in the Democratic platform?

Preserving the FSA. The Farm Security Administration is one of the existing Washington agencies which has best weathered the storms of criticism and budget-paring. Frankly repentant of some of the errors committed in its earlier phases, the FSA has amply and repeatedly justified itself as an indispensable Governmental measure for the development and the protection of the owner and operator of the small family-size farm. For this reason the FSA has received the consistent support of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, and is regarded by the same as an agency conducive to the distribution and maintenance of socially beneficial private property. The original and the amended Cooley bills, however (HR-4876 and HR-4384),

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now before the House Agriculture Committee in Congress, would place FSA and two other Federal lending agencies, the Regional Agricultural Credit Corporation and the Emergency Feed and Seed Loan Units of the Farm Credit Administration, in a new corporation, Farmers Home Corporation. As matters now stand, FSA is safe for another year but on a reduced basis, since its administrative funds have already been cut. It is urgent that permanent legislation be enacted as soon as possible in order that FSA itself may be put on a permanent basis and that objections on the part of some members to voting funds without such authority may be met. The friends of the FSA earnestly advocate that legislation may be adopted which will keep the FSA from suffering a merger with an organization wholly dissimilar in character and interest. If this is impossible, they look to such amendments to either of the Cooley bills as will make it a helpful, not a deleterious measure for the small farmer.

Poland's Premier Flies to Moscow. When Britain's Foreign Minister, Anthony Eden, reaffirmed on July 26 his country's determination to stand by the Polish Government-in-Exile, it could mean only one thing: come what might, the British Government was determined to remain faithful to its obligations toward Poland in the face of the tremendous pressure now being exerted by Russia. The issue between the Government-in-Exile and Moscow's newly created National Committee of Liberation is not just a Polish internal dispute. It has come to be a world question, for it concerns a fundamental right, and a fundamental ability. In the face of vast physical force, can the predominant western partners in the United Nations—the United States and Great Britain—keep their pledged word to a country that enjoys no means of defending its interests? If the Polish Government-in-Exile were merely a one-sided construction, if it were not broadly and genuinely representative of the different major elements of the Polish people, the issue might seem to be more of theory than of practical fact. But that Government is composed of representatives of the four major parties, while the Moscow-created committee, according to the official London Polish statement, includes, for the greater part, persons "completely unknown to the Polish people, who do not represent anyone except a small Communist group without any influence on the Polish people." Premier Mikolajczyk goes to Moscow with the blessing of the United Nations, and as the recognized and effective leader of the Polish underground forces. These are strong cards at this disposal, despite the feting and banqueting given to the rival Committee. He has the opportunity to put on record a major act of statesmanship by his courage and ability in playing them.

Refugees in Spain. Despite persistent propaganda with the apparent purpose to involve us in war with Spain, our present Administration, in harmony with that of Great Britain, has shown an equally persistent resolve to respect Spanish neutrality. Such a policy does not necessarily imply approval of the regime and all its attributes. It simply recognizes war conditions as they are. One item in this propaganda is the assertion—which has appeared on various occasions—that Spain has closed its border to certain types of refugees. Persons who cross the Spanish border, it is true, are arrested, subjected to examination and screening before going further and are speedily expedited to any region they are entitled to enter. But so far there appears to be no evidence of any refusal of entrance, except by authorities outside of Spain. Since this canard is injurious to our good-

relations policy, and thereby may be harmful to the war effort itself, rumors should be tracked down, and refuted when unverifiable.

Nisei and the Draft. An indictment against twenty-six Japanese-American internees at Tula Lake, charging them with violating the Selective Service Act, was dismissed by Judge Louis E. Goodman, sitting in the Federal Court at Eureka, California, on July 22. The internees, ruled the Judge, had not been accorded due process of law; it was, he said:

... shocking to the conscience that an American citizen may be confined on the ground of disloyalty and then, while so under duress and restraint, be compelled to serve in the armed forces or prosecuted for not yielding to such compulsion.

We can scarcely be proud of our treatment of the Japanese-Americans. One writer has claimed that when the full story is written, "it will almost certainly appear that decisions were made on misinformation, assumptions, prejudices, half truths. . . ." Byron F. Lindsley, in the *Georgetown Law Journal*, for January, 1944, pointed out that even the Government counsel, prosecuting one Hirabayashi for violating a curfew order, conceded that there had been no acts of sabotage or disloyalty by American citizens of Japanese ancestry. And in the Supreme Court, Mr. Justice Murphy, though upholding the conviction of Hirabayashi, confessed that restriction of liberty based on accident of ancestry "bears a melancholy resemblance to the treatment accorded to members of the Jewish race in Germany." We should have expected to hear more voices, especially Catholic voices, raised in defense of the rights of these, our fellow-citizens.

Progress, Parenthooders! Who hitches his wagon to the star of progress is very often in for a ride on the tail of a comet—he comes back to where he started. Planned parenthood, we have heard, is the progressive way to build up a country. Well, it now develops that a country which the PP's would—but yes—consider most progressive, to wit, Soviet Russia, now says that birth control is *not* progressive. True, it is still legal there, but such people as the "eminent woman doctor" interviewed by Maurice Hindus frown upon it and consider it a selfish attitude in the face of the country's war losses. There is no high principle invoked here, of course; it is a matter of expediency—but even expediency can speak on the side of the angels once in a while. What are the U. S. PP's to do now, poor things? Put their heads under their wings, we hope, and leave us hear no more from them, for a welcome interim, at least.

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THE NATION AT WAR

DURING the week ending July 25, the Russians have extended their already great offensive still farther. New armies attacked in Galicia, on a front of about 200 miles, with great success. It was found advisable to by-pass the strongly defended German center of Lwów, or Lemberg. This was done on the north for a net gain of 100 miles.

The contending forces are mixed. In these days when troops are fully equipped with motor transportation, they dash around one another in a most surprising manner. Instead of fighting against a strong position, they mount on their trucks and cars and detour around it. Thus the defenders are often attacked from the rear or flanks. They have to watch in all directions. Attackers may make large gains by dodging battles and dashing through weak gaps. This the Russians have been doing.

In the northern sector of the Russian front, the Germans have by now established some kind of line which has no gaps. For the present it is holding. To break it the Russians must move up artillery to punch a hole through which their armor can again get out into the open. Presumably they have taken steps to do so.

In Normandy, the British army tried on the 16th and 17th of the month to break through the German lines. The attempt was made around Caen. Had it succeeded, the British armor might have found a clear road to Paris.

The attack around Caen was preceded by a most powerful air and artillery bombing and shelling, which lasted the better part of an entire morning. The British infantry and tanks attacked together, behind a wall of shells and bombs which dropped just in front of their forward ranks. A gain of several miles was accomplished, but the German line was not punched through.

A modern battle line is a zone, miles deep, within which the defenders are dispersed in a very irregular manner. Naturally they conceal themselves as much as possible. It thus follows that the attackers, not knowing exactly where the enemy is, drops shells and bombs over a vast area, and only some of the defenders get hit. The German line was not broken this time, but it was pushed out. More of this, and the line may become so thin as to break in some later attack.

COL. CONRAD H. LANZA

WASHINGTON FRONT

WHEN the minds of people in Washington came back from the two nominating conventions in Chicago, it was almost as if they had been living in a dream for a month or more. So events in Germany and Japan came as a rude awakening. The time was shorter than we thought. Suddenly people began to ask themselves if we were really ready for a quick ending of the war.

Secretary Hull, of course, has been meeting with members of both Houses who are concerned with foreign policy. But Washington in general was pretty much in the dark about what was really "cooking." Do we really have a plan for dealing with Germany and Russia after the peace in Europe? Only the White House and State Department knew the answer to that one.

On the domestic front, the answer was not so difficult. It is that we are not ready for the peace. Congress is in recess and is not expected back before September. But it has a lot to do when it comes back—and the time is short. It has passed the "GI Bill of Rights," of course, and that is all to the good. But that bill itself will need considerable amending.

Nothing has been done, or very little, about the report of the National Resources Planning Board. The Pepper subcommittee investigating national health may give an impetus to a part of that program, and a much-needed one. Then there are the amendments to the Social Security Act, grouped together under the heading of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill. Their passing has suddenly become pressing. And so it goes.

Perhaps the biggest problem ahead, however, is what legislation must be passed to make a smooth reconversion of industry to peace-time production, and to avert the frightening specter of 12 million unemployed when peace comes. That is really a terrific problem, and the platforms of the two national parties offer few practical suggestions.

It becomes clearer every day that we in this country are far behind Great Britain in postwar domestic planning. Over there they have abandoned "free enterprise" for governmental supervision. If we are not careful here, we will have before we know it a mixture of both, and therefore neither.

WILFRID PARSONS

UNDERSCORINGS

OSSERVATORE ROMANO, semi-official organ of the Vatican, called for the creation of a constituent international assembly to meet wishes "not only of individual nations, but of the whole world."

► Grateful for the Catholic training he had received at Assumption College, Lt. Elliott Wagoner of Detroit, killed in action in Normandy, had asked his parents to give \$1,000 of his estate to the college if anything happened to him.

► A chapel, the gift of Herman G. Hetzler of Rochester, was dedicated at Cape Vincent, N. Y., to commemorate the landing of Claude Dablon, S.J., on March 19, 1656.

► The Orthodox Church concluded the sessions of the first all-Russia Synod at Moscow. Routine matters of church organization were discussed but, contrary to expectations, no action was taken towards electing a permanent Patriarch, according to *Religious News Service*.

► Writing in the *Vermont Catholic Review*, Bishop Matthew F. Brady, of Burlington, paid tribute to "kind neighbors, friendly organizations and understanding civic welfare de-

partments" for their help to the Vermont Catholic Charities.

► American soldiers helped salvage some of the nuns' possessions when the historic Tyburn convent in London—on the site of the gallows where many of England's martyrs gave their lives for the Faith—was destroyed by a robot bomb.

► "To provide spiritual solace to a nation at war," the NBC radio chain has announced that its broadcast day will open and close with a prayer.

► The Most Rev. Henry P. Rohlman, Bishop of Davenport, was named Coadjutor Archbishop of the See of Dubuque, Iowa, with the right of succession.

► The "Pattern for Peace," the Seven Point Program endorsed by Catholic, Protestant and Jewish representatives last October, was presented to the framers of the Democratic Party platform by Dean Charles Gilkey of the University of Chicago Divinity School. Previously, the "Pattern" had been urged on the Republican platform committee by Father E. A. Conway, S.J., of Regis College, Denver.

"A WORLD TO RECONSTRUCT"

JOHN LAFARGE, S.J.

THERE are two entirely different positions which the present Pope could have taken on the war. He could have said to himself: War is an evil and profane thing. The Holy See's mission is spiritual; modern states ignore its authority and are increasingly self-sufficient. There will be no peace until the world is converted to Jesus Christ. But the world, in great measure, has repudiated the Saviour. Hence let the Church withdraw and abstain from every phase of this conflict, and content itself with salvaging men's souls amid the reign of evil, and leave the hope of justice to the Last Judgment, the hope of peace until the world to come.

Or he could say that, *because* the Church is endowed with a sublime religious mission, she cannot remain a stranger to the conflict. The Pope is most faithful to the Church's original mandate to render to God those things that are God's, to render to Caesar what is Caesar's, when he is *present* to the war. The policy of presence, not of withdrawal and absence, shall be the policy of the Holy See.

Pope Pius XII, says Professor Guido Gonella in his recent book, *A World to Reconstruct* (Bruce Publishing Co. \$3.50), chose the latter alternative. He made known his choice in a series of great utterances, from 1939 to 1943, on the conditions of a just peace and a postwar order, which have passed into the world's history. But the Pope's presence—in a moral sense—to the conflict will mean little practical unless the Faithful throughout the world are themselves present to its moral problems; for the Pope spoke to just that purpose.

In order to aid Catholics to exercise that policy of presence—as opposed to absence and aloofness—Professor Gonella, an editor of the semi-official Vatican organ, *Osservatore Romano*, wrote the series of profound and thoroughly prepared studies of the Papal peace ideas which this book contains. Rev. T. Lincoln Bouscaren, S.J., professor of Canon Law in West Baden College, has translated them from the Italian. And the same idea, that of aiding not only Catholics, but all persons who will respect and appreciate the great moral principles to which the Pope appeals, inspired the Committee on the Pope's Peace Plan of the American Bishops to have this translation appear under their special auspices. They are anxious that it shall receive the widest possible circulation and attention.

This is no casual production; though personal, it is not just a private work. The author's chapters on this whole series of tremendously important and controversial subjects appeared week after week under the eyes of the Holy Father and with his approval, and in collaboration with Vatican experts. Dr. Gonella makes no explicit claims of authority. But he speaks with such certitude and definiteness as to the essence of the Papal program that it leaves no doubt, from that aspect alone, of the great weight of his interpretation.

A World to Reconstruct is no mere scholarly collection of principles and information. It is dominated by a group of powerful, far-reaching ideas. These ideas are presented not simply as speculations, but as a stern moral imperative. Since this moral imperative pierces to the heart of certain major decisions ardently debated in Congress and minutely discussed in platform committees of the major political parties, we can in no manner be "present" to the world drama going on around us, unless we ourselves are fully aware of the moral issues in question.

The Papal peace plan, as interpreted by Dr. Gonella, proposes as the basis for a future peace a "federated society" of free and independent peoples. He explains this as a thoroughly Christian idea: not as something directly "set up" by Christianity, as it would set up a religious organization, but as an indirect creation: as the inevitable logical consequence of the penetration of the temporal order by the life-giving tenets of Christianity.

Such a broad proposal, however, means little or nothing unless we know more in detail just what the author has in mind. He is guided by certain leading thoughts, expressed with great clearness, insistence and a confidence that they can be fully documented and authenticated from the teachings of the Church and the utterances of the Holy See.

SOCIETY OF FREE PEOPLES

First of all, such an international society is to be made up of free peoples. In the first point of the Christmas message of 1939, the Holy Father declared that a fundamental requisite for a just and honorable peace is "to assure to every nation, large or small, powerful or weak, its right to life and independence." In 1941, the Pope added that there must be "no room for the violation of the freedom, integrity and security of other states."

America's foreign policy, therefore, must necessarily be guided by this consideration, since, says Gonella (p. 104):

The foreign policy which regards the particular interests of a people as its unique objective, invariably ends by denying all reciprocity of rights and duties among nations; that is, it denies all sound international cooperation for the attainment of the common good of states.

Inequalities of right, says Gonella, "are offset by equalities of right," in the international, as in the domestic community, where all races and classes have equal rights. And "material force can never (except in the case of defense) be used as an instrument of foreign policy," in a properly organized international community.

This is particularly seen in the field of economic cooperation. No nation has the right to exploit another or to establish over it a political hegemony, merely because of its economic dependence.

Severe blame, likewise, is to be laid upon the "calculating egoism" shown in international trade.

AN INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTION

The society which the Pope has in mind is not a mere association of completely independent units, bound merely by agreements or contracts, but a living and close-knit institution. It is based upon the *organic concept* of the international community, an idea to which the author constantly recurs. The society of nations is not just a grouping for certain purposes; it is a body, of which the various nations form parts. That which unites the parts is the search for the *common good* of the world society; and each nation, though it remains basically free and independent, is obliged, as a duty of international morality, to subordinate its own particular good to that common good of all peoples.

SOVEREIGNTY LIMITED

This means, from the nature of the case, a clear and unequivocal *limitation of national sovereignty*.

The State, says the author, is a mediator between the individual and humanity (as the family is an intermediary between the individual and the State) and as a single country "cannot live in isolation."

Hence the existence of an institution which . . . can be at once the center from which emanate juridical

norms and the center for the coordination and limitation of the will of states; a higher source of obligations and an organ for the control of the arbitrary will of nations.

The following paragraphs show the author's thoughts:

The international institution will permit the State to come out of its isolation; it will modify the absurd idea of unlimited sovereignty; it will make of every nation a subject in association with other subjects in the Community of nations.

In order that international society arrive at this maturity, it is necessary . . . that the natural law of nations be given recognition and effect in positive law.

Respect for the personality of the various nations demands that the life of the international institution express itself in forms of cooperation. Hence the will which governs international relations cannot be a hegemonic will (that is, the will of the strongest), nor the will of a group which is in quest of particular interests, but it must be a social will, that is, the will of the institutional organism itself (pp. 254-5).

"A state may," says Gonella, "and at times should, sacrifice its own interest for the good of the Community of States."

DISARMAMENT AND COERCION

The author applies this principle unhesitatingly by limiting the right to maintain armaments and to make war. Furthermore, coming to another vital point:

On an institutional basis the norm of international obligation will reinforce its authority and will also acquire that coercive character which it now completely lacks.

Can such an institution, imposing such sacrifices, using such force, be achieved? Isolationism, says the author, is strong:

For many and complex reasons, all desire for or tendency toward an international organization along lines of solidarity, is languid and inoperative. The root causes are deafness on the part of the nations to the call of the moral conscience, and a mistaken view of their own particular interests.

Past attempts in this line should be studied, even though serious mistakes were made. "Instead of indulging in abstract and useless speculations as to what might have been . . . it seems more modest and useful to do what we can to prevent the fruits of experience from being lost."

CALL TO ACTION

So there is no room at this juncture for any "easy pessimism," whether as to the prevention of war or the organization of peace. "All are called" to this "slow and difficult but constructive work of elevating the moral conscience of individuals and nations." The seven-point Pattern For Peace, issued in this country last autumn, likewise challenged the moral conscience of Americans to construct and participate in a juridically organic, effectively coercive international institution. Dr. Gonella repeats this challenge. His book is strong medicine, much stronger medicine than most people in this country and most of our politicians are prepared to swallow. But the grace of God, and the wide enlightenment this translation is destined to produce, should give us strength to rule out vain excuses, pious or profane, and to accept the necessary instrument for preventing a recurrence of those conditions which would permit, in Pope Pius XII's words: "The calamity of a world war . . . to envelop the human race for a third time."

BRETTON WOODS MONETARY CONFERENCE

RICHARD E. MULCAHY

(Article I of a Series)

WHEN the thirteen hundred monetary experts of forty-four United and Associated Nations departed for home from the seclusion of Bretton Woods, N. H., they had good reason to feel they had made history. The mere fact that a group of economists agreed on something, even a preliminary report, is extraordinary. And when their economic discussion was intertwined with the political interests of such diverse nations, their agreement is real cause to wonder.

Even looking at their work objectively, the results of the conference were most satisfying. The delegates drew up the plans and voted for an \$8.8 billion pool to stabilize world currencies, and a \$10 billion international bank for world reconstruction and development. Both projects are the most ambitious and colossal institutions ever approved by a group of nations. Nor does the fact that official governmental approval still must be given by the governments represented take anything away from the achievement of the Bretton Woods conference.

JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES

Most of the success of the conference is due to the dominating position of Britain's international monetary expert, Lord John Maynard Keynes. In fact, it may easily be said that to understand the conference one must understand Keynes.

The public first became conscious of the then Mr. Keynes, when he walked out of the Versailles peace conference in protest against the reparations imposed upon Germany. Though representing the Bank of England, he claimed that the proposed reparations could never be paid by Germany and that attempt to pay them would disrupt world trade. Keynes' book, *Economic Consequences of the Peace*, written at that time, reads like a post-mortem history of the ill-fated twenties and thirties.

In 1936 John Maynard Keynes revolutionized economic theory with his book, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*. He boldly attacked orthodox, classical economic theory, which he admitted he himself had learned and had always taught. Never in the history of economic thought has a book so stirred up controversy. If a lesser light than Keynes had been the author, the book might have been ignored. But when the world's foremost economist tells his confreres that they have missed the whole point of economic analysis, that they are assuming away the very problem they should be solving, the problem of the business cycle, his brother economists could do only one thing—attack. Since the publication of the *General Theory* there has hardly been a single issue of any leading economic journal which has not had at least one article discussing the Keynesian theory. Even his critics adopted his terminology, such as liquidity preference, marginal propensity to consume, and marginal efficiency of capital. Keynes delights in coining new expressions for old phenomena.

Keynes' rebellion did not lessen his professional standing. The British Government has given him the title of Lord; while the directors of the Bank of England have elected him to membership on their board. Even in economic circles Keynes has a large following, especially among the younger economists. With merit one can divide all economists today into Keynesians and non-Keynesians.

The Keynesian doctrine can be described as expansionary. It holds the thesis that the chief cause of unemployment is that more money is saved than is invested—thus causing hoarding. As remedy it emphasizes an increase of investment opportunities to balance savings with investments, rather than a cutting down of savings. Keynesian international economics stresses the need of a sufficient supply of foreign exchange to permit the steady flow of goods between nations; sufficient credit to develop debtor nations; and full employment in the leading industrial countries. Keynes believes that the policy of *laissez-faire* is dead and that there is a need of rational control over both national and international economic events.

Is Keynes pro-British? Yes, but not in any fanatical way. I believe that Keynes will always do what is best for England, but not at the expense of the rest of the world. Though his plans will always help the United Kingdom, they will never injure the United Nations. Keynes is a bold, imaginative and honest economist.

KEYNES V. WHITE

In the preliminary conferences held before the meeting at Bretton Woods, it appears that Lord Keynes lost the first round in his duel with United States Treasury's Harry D. White. Both the American and British expert want the same thing: a large volume of international trade. They differ about the means to achieve this goal. White favors an international monetary authority to act in a negative way by removing the hindrances to the free flow of goods; Keynes wishes the international authority positively to control and direct that flow.

Exception might be taken to the goal of a large volume of international trade on the grounds that there does not seem to be any absolute reason why a large volume of goods and services exchanged between nations should be synonymous with a high level of well-being of the people of those nations. Why should the people not be better off if they produced and consumed the goods themselves? In the parallel case of trade between our States, a large volume of interstate shipments is no reason why the nation is better off than if the goods were produced and consumed in the same State. Nevertheless, as a thumb-rule and for all practical purposes, a large volume of goods and services exchanged between States or nations is an indication that the nations or States are better off, because in our present stage of economic development, when a certain amount of local specialization enables us to use our natural resources more efficiently and when the prosperity of many world industries is dependent on foreign purchases, a decline of international trade tends to disrupt the domestic economy of many of the leading nations of the world.

Both White and Keynes agree that the gold standard is old fashioned and should be abandoned as the means of balancing the trade accounts between nations. They disagree, however, in the degree of abandonment. The international gold standard never did work perfectly except in the textbook explanations of the classical theory. And even in this speculative perfection there was a serious drawback.

THEORY OF TRADE BALANCES

Trade balances, according to the textbooks, are made equal by the effects produced by the impact on domestic prices caused by the withdrawal of gold from the debtor nation and by the inflow of gold into the creditor nation. Thus, the nation selling more than it was buying was supposed to experience a rise in prices, while prices were supposed to fall in the nation buying more than it was selling.

In time this change in the relative prices was to make it more difficult for the creditor nation with its high prices to sell in the world markets, while the lower prices in the debtor nation would attract foreign buyers. The principle of this operation is that gold affects prices by changing the supply of money in the various countries.

This classical picture, which over-simplified the problem, assumed that foreign trade was carried on between homogeneous nations. It took no account of the differences in the national income and wealth of the various countries, the relative size of their gold holdings, the varied items that constituted their price structure, nor the multiple, possible central bank policies which could be adopted. The upshot was that in reality the gold standard worked slowly and haphazardly, tending to balance out-of-line imports and exports by cutting down exports. In other words, deflation was the ordinary means of equating; if a balance was struck, it was because creditor nations sold less rather than that debtor nations sold more.

The Bretton Woods conference had for its purpose the solution of this problem—which the old international gold standard did not solve—how to balance trade between nations without disrupting international trade and domestic economies. For any disparity between the exports and imports of a nation must somehow be balanced. This can be done either by a shift in the rate of exchange of its currency, the shipment of gold, the granting of credits, or by changing the fundamental causes of the disequilibrium.

Correction by juggling exchange ratios is eliminated by the world's importers' and exporters' aversion to shifting exchange rates, because they have no sound basis on which to make commitments; and by the general condemnation of the practice as leading to international "price wars." The part to be played by gold is definitely curtailed, if for no other reason, by the fact that the bulk of the world's gold supply is in the vaults of the United States. So, credits and the fundamental remedies are the only practical solutions.

Harry D. White's stabilization fund is expected to take care of the short-run problem. To appreciate its work, consider the case of a nation with an unfavorable balance of trade (imports in excess of exports). Normally, it would have to give up its gold, if it had any, or it would have to permit its currency to decline in the foreign-exchange market in relation to the currencies of other nations. For the supply of its currency in the foreign-exchange market would be greater than the demand. But this would disturb the entire international scene, and often would start cumulative swings that would run their full course only when transactions between nations were at low ebb.

PURPOSE AND CRITICISM OF FUND

The main purpose of the stabilization fund is to support exchange prices until the temporary disequilibrium is corrected. Important as the fund would be in normal times, in the postwar world it will be essential. Disruptive conversion programs, destroyed productive factories to be restored, inflated currencies to be stabilized, make it imperative that every change on the domestic front should not be reflected in wild fluctuations on the foreign-exchange market. And it is likewise important that the work of rehabilitation should not be complicated by the vagaries of foreign trade. The Fund will give the nations of the world a chance to get their breath.

The criticism of the Fund has been chiefly along the lines that it will permit weak nations to carry along without remedying their sick economies. Such criticisms are based on a false notion of the nature of the disturbing causes. They

presuppose that every disharmony between domestic prices and foreign-exchange rates is due to some fundamental defect that cannot be corrected until it has run its course—a laissez-faire attitude. Actually, in many cases there is a much better chance of correcting the fundamental evil if exchange rates are stabilized than if they are allowed to fluctuate and thus to complicate the process.

Another criticism along the same lines is that nations embarking on an inflationary program by an unrestricted use of the printing-press can take advantage of the Fund to support their currencies in the world markets. The best answer is that it is very naive to think that the world's foremost monetary experts will not protect the Fund from such a patent abuse.

Some disclaim any hope of success for the Stabilization Fund, because it is attacking the problem from the wrong end. It is said that sound currencies in each country through a return to the historic gold standard and balanced budgets will automatically keep a stable relationship between different currencies. This ultra-conservative view confuses the issue by supposing that we cannot attack on both fronts at once. Moreover, its home-front remedy, in view of the huge debt problem of practically every nation of the world and the almost universal demand for full employment, is no certain guarantee even for domestic stability.

There are many details of the Stabilization Fund plan which are complicated and will require much laborious study. For example, at present the United States is to put up \$2.75 billion, Great Britain \$1.3 billion, Russia \$1.2 billion, and China \$550 million. Many of the popular editorials object to the large contribution to be made by the United States. But it seems strange that at the Conference there was no question how much any nation *must* put into the pool, but how much they would be *permitted* to contribute. With the contribution goes a proportionate vote in the government of the Fund.

How much power will be given to the board of the Stabilization Fund will be an important factor in the determination of the success of the new project. It is here, probably more than in regard to any other item, where the governments which are to ratify the plan will be inclined to curtail its proposed powers. If the Fund is to be more than a temporary prop, its directors must be given sufficient power to control any unilateral action on the part of any nation that would tend to disturb the harmony of the world's trade relations.

Opposition to the powers of the governors of the Stabilization Fund will be made in the name of sovereignty. It should not be forgotten, however, that even under the old gold standard nations had to give up much of their freedom in economic matters. And here it was domination by an irrational, uncontrolled economic force. It is not a question of choosing between freedom to make economic decisions or submission to rules made by an impartial board. If there is no stabilization plan, sovereignty will be surrendered to the ruthless laws of economics.

Supposing that the Stabilization Fund is approved and adopted by most of the leading nations, it still will not completely solve the international-trade problem. It is a necessary means, but not sufficient. It removes hindrances, but does nothing positive to encourage trade nor does it remedy the fundamental causes of recurrent and chronic disequilibrium in international trade accounts. It is the hope of the Keynesian contribution to the conference—the World Bank for reconstruction and development—positively to help to balance trade accounts. We will discuss this in the next article.

THE DEMOCRATS IN CHICAGO

CHARLES LUCEY

CHICAGO: The strange political amalgam that is the Democratic party—Southern conservatives, big-city bosses, Liberals ranging from moderates to radical leftists—was given a severe testing in the 1944 national convention. In the end, it held together, but anyone who observed the intra-party strife here might well have wondered whether, if this were not wartime and if the rallying point were any lesser figure than Franklin Roosevelt, these elements so basically irreconcilable could long remain under one flag.

Messrs. Murray and Hillman of the CIO Political Action Committee were quick enough to say they thought Senator Truman, after his nomination as Vice-Presidential candidate and running mate of Mr. Roosevelt, was a fine fellow. But it would be unrealistic to think they will easily forget the licking they took here from the city bosses and Southerners.

The CIO leaders will swing whatever part of their voting membership they can to the Democrats in November. That is well enough for 1944, with a liberal Democrat such as Mr. Roosevelt to be supported, but what would happen to the labor alliance with a conservative Democrat leading the party? The Southern conservatives, on the other hand, have little use for the ambitious Mr. Hillman.

The incongruity of trying to hitch the liberal thinking of CIO unions to something that will suit the Southerners is a case in point. Three weeks ago, for example, the Republicans put the Democrats on the spot with a platform pledge to work for an end to discrimination against Negroes. But the Democrats ran from the challenge. They said only:

We believe that racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our Constitution. Congress should exert its full constitutional powers to protect these rights.

The Republicans had come out against the poll tax, urged establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission, pledged an inquiry into discrimination against Negroes in the armed forces, and favored anti-lynching legislation. The Democrats were silent on specific matters and tossed in only vague phrases capable of varied interpretations.

This was really a convention of the bosses—Mayor Hague of Jersey City, Mayor Kelly of Chicago, Ed Flynn of New York and Robert E. Hannegan, the national chairman. They are shrewd politicians, schooled in the devious maneuverings of political conventions for many years. They regarded Vice-President Henry A. Wallace as a visionary and a dreamer—and a liability to the party ticket—and they wanted no part of him. They were for Senator Truman from the start and notwithstanding the first-ballot shadow-boxing they were pretty sure they had the situation in hand at all times.

But they must have been impressed, though, at the strength Mr. Wallace did show. Four years ago Mr. Roosevelt forced him on a convention that did not want him. This time he came to Chicago with a note from the President saying not much more than that Henry Wallace was a likable enough fellow. Moreover, Mr. Roosevelt also provided Mr. Truman and Supreme Court Justice Douglas with character references.

So when Mr. Wallace rolled up 429½ votes on the first ballot, a goodly total, he did it mainly on the fight that he

himself, and Messrs. Murray, Hillman and some New Dealers behind him, had made.

But when the second ballot got rolling, Southern delegations which had been supporting favorite sons swung one by one to Mr. Truman. They did not like the New Deal, they disliked Mr. Wallace intensely and they were ready to go along with the city bosses to teach Mr. Hillman a lesson. It might be noted here that the delegates as a whole probably resented the tactics of the Hillman-Wallace forces in packing the galleries of the Chicago Stadium with vociferous, at times unruly, audiences. To whatever extent the CIO planned it that way, it overplayed its hand.

The platform was only about one-third the length of the more detailed Republican statement of principles. On foreign policy, it pledged:

To join with the other United Nations in establishment of an international organization based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the prevention of aggression and maintenance of international peace and security;

To make all necessary and effective agreements and arrangements through which the nations would maintain adequate forces to meet the needs of preventing war and of making impossible the preparation for war and which would have such forces available for joint action when necessary.

Such organizations must be endowed with power to employ armed forces when necessary to prevent aggression and preserve peace.

The platform also favored maintenance of an international Court of Justice with the United States as a member.

There will be arguments about degrees, but that leaves both Democrats and Republicans committed to postwar collaboration to maintain peace. The GOP platform used the ambiguous term "peace forces" as the means of maintaining world order, and there was complaint about it, but Mr. Dewey has since been quoted flatly as favoring force where necessary.

Beyond this, the platform cited the record of the New Deal and promised to continue this record—"We do not here detail scores of planks. We cite action." The maintenance and advancement of programs affecting labor, social security, agriculture and hydro-electric-power development were pledged, along with promotion of the success of small business and small farms and "earliest possible release of wartime controls."

It was marked by the generality and compromise that is the standard of most platforms designed to reconcile divergent views within the party and pick up votes. But few will vote for or against a platform; the issue in November will be determined on the basis of Roosevelt and Dewey.

Most Democrats here seemed to think a Roosevelt-Truman ticket stronger than a Roosevelt-Wallace ticket would have been, reasoning that anyone for Wallace would be in Mr. Roosevelt's camp anyway, but that Mr. Truman might pull some votes which would be lost to the Democrats if Mr. Wallace had been named. Some New Yorkers, especially, believed that Mr. Wallace, because of Mr. Hillman's tie-up with the Communists in New York City, would have cost the ticket votes.

Mr. Truman's earlier Missouri connection with the corrupt Pendergast machine is likely to provide many an explosive passage in Republican campaign speeches. But those who have watched his work in the Senate believe that he has proved his ability to rise above this political disfigurement of a decade or more ago.

EDITORS: HOW'S YOUR G.I. CIRCULATION?

BY A G.I.

THE 64-dollar question on a Catholic Radio Broadcast might well be: "While it has been said 'there are no atheists in foxholes,' is it equally true that there are no indifferent and neglected Catholics in the Army?"

The writer of this article, who has been a member of the armed forces for more than two years, speaks only from his personal experience in a mere dozen Army camps where he has been stationed or which he has visited during that time. He does not even hazard a guess at conditions elsewhere, lest his conclusions be still more disheartening. He knows nothing of conditions in the Navy, Marines or Coast Guard. Perhaps discussion from those services would prove very interesting.

Before this war is won, our Army will have added two more titles to an already glorious standard. They will be the "fightingest" and "readingest" Army ever. For from the day GI Joe and his wife, sister or sweetheart, Betty GI (singular for the Women's Army Corps), arrive at the induction station, they are given reading material. There are forms to be filled out giving your complete background from your creeping days, synopsis of powers of attorney and last wills, Army Regulations, War Department Circulars and Field Manuals by the dozen. At the Service Clubs and Post Exchanges he finds Daily Bulletins, camp newspapers, *Yank* magazine, GI Journals and periodic copies of his back-home daily or weekly. But does he ever read a good Catholic newspaper? Rarely. But he undoubtedly would, if he could get his hands on one, especially one from his own diocese.

Immediately some AMERICA-reading Chaplain (unfortunately not legion in number) or some militant Chaplain's Assistant will dash off a letter to your Correspondence page to assure you that "at Camp Cumulus we regularly receive a copy of the *Catholic Call* for the Chapel."

The following comments represent the studied opinions of a thinking and observant (from a circulation standpoint) Catholic GI Joe. He deeply regrets that ignorance of the date of the Catholic Press Conference in Milwaukee prevented his attendance, presupposing that furlough schedules could have been so arranged. As a GI uninstructed delegate, he would have offered the following observations to the Conference, dropping a few galleys on the toes of the serene and out-of-touch-with-reality diocesan editors who are grossly unaware of the life, problems and interests of GI Joe.

"You can say what you will about my fluttering flat-bed presses, the faintly inked alternating inner pages or my high subscription rates, but I will not countenance the charge that I am out of touch with reality," will chorus every individual Catholic Editor. "Do not fifteen out of some seventy-five of us carry a service-man's column?" they will ask as they refer to the enlightening analysis of Catholic periodicals by Floyd Anderson which appeared on page 262 of AMERICA for June 10, 1944.

Apart from my personal observations, that meagre figure of twenty per cent is in itself sufficient indictment of the complete out-of-touchness of the bulk of Catholic Editors with the interests of our Catholic men and women in the armed forces. Even the one-man-edited, printed, published and distributed small-town mid-weekly country newspaper, as a rule, has a more favorable record. Those editors are

happy to devote a few lines each week—and even a one- or two-column cut—to Corp. Willie O'Brien, formerly half-back at St. James High, who was recently wounded in Normandy, or to Private First Class Mary Brown from Holy Family Commercial, who is now operating a switch-board for General Mark Clark in Rome. Consequently, it does appear unfortunate that, while Catholic men and women constitute a most substantial segment of the Army's enlisted personnel, their own papers—or at least eighty per cent of them—are oblivious to their activities, promotions and accomplishments.

After such shabby editorial treatment, are they going to support the Catholic press when victory has been won and they lay aside their packs and khakis for sport-jackets and golf clubs? They might say that they were completely unaware of your existence.

For sixteen long months this GI was stationed at a camp which had a constantly renewing soldier population of upwards of thirty thousand. The local draft boards were very cooperative. If attendance at Sunday Mass is a good gauge, Catholic men constituted a very sizable percentage of the total strength. Due to paper quotas set for the local newspaper's number of subscribers prior to the erection of the first tents, there were not more than a dozen local papers furnished the soldiers. Yet for this sizable number of transplanted Catholics, no more than a half-dozen copies of a certain thousand-miles-distant diocesan weekly were furnished the Catholic Chaplain, which might be ascribed to his erstwhile Dodger rootings. The Chaplains—much less the GIs—never saw a copy of the diocesan newspaper, nor did its editor visit the camp during a twenty-four-month period. The only time the writer saw a copy of the local Catholic weekly was when he received the bundles of his own Post newspaper. It appears that the printer of the diocesan paper was likewise the printer for the camp newspaper, and that he had no scruples about wrapping the GI journales in several layers of the religious paper to protect it from the bottom of the motor freight-truck. We were about fifty miles from the nearest printer, and the precaution was well taken.

Circulation-quota restrictions imposed by increasing labor costs or this or that government agency can hardly be used to explain the neglect shown to those who are sacrificing so much. While on furlough the writer saw plenty of copies of the Catholic weekly gathering dust in the rear of the Church which would have been read avidly by Catholic soldiers both in the States and abroad.

Why doesn't someone at least take the trouble to mail the service men these apparent dust-collectors?

The GI reading audience is the answer to a subscription manager's prayer. The men and women in the service will read whenever they can snatch a few minutes while waiting at a motor pool for a call to drive anything from a prime mover to a jeep. On shipboard and in the railroad cars and in the privacy of an upper bunk in a thirty-man barracks they are constantly reading for diversion, for knowledge, for information from back home. Here you have an eight-million hand-picked audience waiting to see your product. Acquaint them with it now. Let it bring peace and happiness and renewed interest into their lives today and they will subscribe to your publications at the termination of the Duration.

Catholic Editors, you are missing your literary deadline when you pass up the servicemen and women who today are making history, who represent genuine news to your readers and who would be glad to read your otherwise eminently worthwhile publications.

CREDIT UNIONS IN JAMAICA

THIS year the Rochdale cooperative movement is a century old. Cooperatives were in existence prior to 1844, their organizers being groups of workmen unwilling to remain victims of impossible prices and machine-age exploitation; but their temporary success did not compare with the progress made by the movement within the last hundred years.

On the Continent and in England cooperatives have long been taken for granted. In our own country the movement has at last reached such proportions that it is challenged by those who see in it a threat to free enterprise. But in a British possession not far from our shores the movement has had phenomenal success within the past few years, in the form of credit unions. On June 17 and 18 of this year the Jamaica Credit Union League held its fourth annual cooperative credit-union convention at St. George's College Extension School, Kingston.

In 1941 the only group represented was the Sodality Credit Union Study Club. Six groups came together at the 1942 meeting, and last year ninety groups sent delegates. To the 1944 convention came representatives of two hundred credit unions, study clubs and credit unionettes.

If Jamaica, with a 1,241,000 population living on 4,450 square miles, wants another reason for being proud of its quick grasp of the principles of cooperation, it has it in the fact that all this has been done without governmental initiation or financial subsidy. This movement of the people is run by the people. In the four years of its existence the League members adopted a Constitution, have drafted a projected Credit Union Societies Act, and have a League Audit Service run cooperatively. Aware that cooperative enterprises are apt to fail without sufficient education in the principles and technique, study clubs and an educational program are sponsored by Land Settlement, St. George's Extension School, Jamaica Welfare, the Agricultural Society, Civil Service and by the Union of Teachers. The common purpose of all finds its expression in the League. Its President is the Rev. J. P. Sullivan, S.J., Director of Cooperatives and Labor Relations, St. George's College.

Difficulties are foreseen, as in every cooperative movement. As yet the Credit Unions Act has not been adopted by the Government and, apart from the moral force of the League, existing law does not give sufficient guarantee that the groups will remain orthodox credit unions. Then, too, the days of first enthusiasm are over and human nature faces the job of keeping the unions financially sound.

Inasmuch as cooperation like this can succeed only where Government allows free association of consumers and producers on terms of equality, cooperatives, instead of being a source of fear, should remain an encouragement to exponents of free enterprise.

W. J. G.

WHO'S WHO

JOHN LAFARGE, Editor of AMERICA, is actively connected with the work of the Institute of Social Order in acquainting the public with the Seven Point Plan for a just and durable peace. . . . RICHARD E. MULCAHY, S.J., theology student at Alma, Calif., once connected with the San Francisco Stock Exchange, has made a comprehensive study of economic philosophy and practice during the past several years. . . . CHARLES LUCEY, a Scripps-Howard newspaper man, was present at both of the Chicago conventions. . . . G. I. JOE is an Army Lieutenant who was formerly an active newspaper man. . . . JOSEPH LANDY is a student of the humanities at Saint Andrew-on-Hudson.

NOTHING is clearer now than the fact that the nations cannot assure world peace by doing nothing about it. Both the Republican and the Democratic platforms assert the need of some international organization to prevent war. Both speak of the need of adequate sanctions against nations which threaten the security of the world. Since political platforms tend rather to be behind public opinion than ahead of it, the conclusion would seem to be that the American people sees the urgent necessity of organizing for peace.

Only, let there be no mistake. Peace does not come by whistling for it. Anne O'Hare McCormick writes significantly in the *New York Times* (July 26):

Neither party has said anything about the price of peace. Until platform-makers and the people for whom platforms are made indicate that they know that security is going to cost something in terms of political independence, economic sacrifice and moral responsibility, all these resolutions are merely pious hopes.

And she does not see that they will be anything more than that until "the nation is ready to accept the full consequences of an international policy."

Therein lies the danger. Everybody in this nation wants peace to be adequately secured in the world after the war. But not everybody realizes what the price of that security is. And when it comes to concrete proposals for organizing peace, perhaps the country may think the price too high. We are all wedded to the defense of our own interests—naturally and rightly. But it is pertinent to recall here a remark of Winston Churchill. It is not always given to the wisest of men or nations, he said, to know at any moment where their true interests lie; but even the humblest and simplest can see from day to day where their duty lies.

The great Powers thought that they were consulting their best interests during the early 'thirties, when they connived at the open defiance of international law; history has mocked their worldly wisdom. Too much of our present international maneuvering smacks of the same wisdom; the wisdom that is willing to compromise with duty—and ends by avoiding duty. The peoples of the world have to learn that nations have their obligations; that sovereignty does not mean untrammelled liberty to do whatever you happen to be able to get away with; that national interests are best served by conscientious performance of international obligations. Will it take another blood-bath to convince the world at last of the folly of its wisdom?

The people of this nation want a secure peace after this war. They are paying an unprecedented price for it in human work, human suffering, human lives. The cost is too high to allow of their being cheated out of what they are buying so dearly. Upon their leaders, upon the leaders of the great political parties rests a terrible responsibility—that of leading the people into the paths of security and peace.

The coming campaign is the last chance these leaders may have of forming and informing the American opinion that will make or mar the peace settlement. The American people must learn what it means to secure the peace. Vague phrases about national interests and American sovereignty may get votes, but they may have a terrible aftermath in a third World War.

The question is not whether the Republican platform is better than the Democratic; the question is, are either Republicans or Democrats offering anything that is good enough for America? The question is, are our political leaders really interested in helping us to see the truth about the

peace and to face it? The question is, do our leaders know that truth themselves?

The truth about peace is that it can be secure only under the moral law that comes from God—a law from which no man or nation can claim exemption. International law, to be really law, must be based on and express the moral law. This is the studied opinion of the religious leaders who, in this country, signed the seven-point Pattern for Peace; of the leaders in Britain who published analogous manifestoes; of the Holy Father, as expressed in numerous addresses.

It is saddening—and frightening—to see the apathy of leaders and public towards these pronouncements. Are we paying a bloody price for peace, only to buy another war?

ARGENTINE DEMOCRACY

NOTHING our State Department has as yet published has been such a severe bill of indictment against the existing Argentine regime as its summary of the United States Government's position issued on July 26. It is an "irrefutable fact," says the statement, "that internal controls over Axis firms are non-existent, and that the Farrell Government has in truth been aiding these firms." The State Department is confident that the other American republics will concur with it in the non-recognition of Argentina's Government until there has been "a fundamental change of policy" in that country.

But amid the anxiety in United Nations circles over the alleged pro-Axis propensities and activities of Argentina, it is good to recall the distinction already underlined by Secretary Hull. Even in the press conference in which the Secretary gave it to be understood that a sharper official tone toward Argentina would be adopted, he still made it clear that charges of pro-Axis sympathy and collaboration were directed against the Government and not against the people.

One reason why the people are not pro-Axis, but democratic in sympathy, is that they enjoy the leadership of such keenly democratic and social-minded clerics as Monsignor Miguel de Andrea, Bishop of Temnos. For the past twenty-five years, the Bishop has devoted a large portion of his energies and monies to the improvement of the conditions of the Argentine working girl. When he started his crusade, women workers were wretchedly paid, worked sixty hours a week and were practically social outcasts. Today they work forty hours a week at higher wages and get two weeks vacation with pay.

Further, he has established a Working Girls' House where, for dues of thirty cents a month, women workers can attend study courses, use the gymnasium, the library, have hot showers and relax in rest-rooms. Free medical and dental services were used last year by over 21,000 of the 25,000 members of the Federation of Catholic Women Employees. Summer vacations in the mountains cost the members fifty cents a day.

All this magnificent work is organized and conducted on totally democratic lines. The Federation's governing council is elected by the employe-members, and is subject to no pressure from Bishop de Andrea, the Government, employers or professional labor organizers.

With such an example of democratic social-mindedness, it is little wonder that the Argentinians have not been im-

pressed by any specious advantages in totalitarian regimentation. That the Government has been apparently so impressed is to be regretted. Perhaps, though, it may yet see where its true advantage lies; at any rate, it has honored Bishop de Andrea by designating his birthday, July 5, as "The Day of the Woman Employee."

It is fervently to be hoped that this example of the Catholic Hierarchy will not only keep the people devoted to, but also influence the Government toward, that new order which is the oldest and best—the democracy that is inherent in Christian social teachings.

WORKING TOGETHER

WHEN the war got under way, the question was asked: can Negroes be employed in our war plants?

Now that the war is well on its way, the further question comes up: will Negroes continue to be employed in civilian industry after the war as they have been employed in the various types of war manufacture?

A recurrence of Negro unemployment would be a peculiarly severe affliction for the nation. It would strike down at one blow every support for the Negro's self-respect and self-development. And it would lay the fuse for every type of domestic social disorder.

The answer to this question lies in the extent and the success with which Negroes are being employed in war plants at the present moment. If the record now is good, it opens up an encouraging vista for the future.

An "Industrial Relations Laboratory" was recently devised by the National Urban League, an organization for social service among Negroes, to study this question. According to reliable reports, at least 1,500,000 Negro workers are currently engaged in war production and other essential war employment, and additional increases in Negro employment are anticipated in areas of severe labor shortage. In the project just mentioned three hundred plants were selected for a close-range study of Negro employment's actual workings. These plants employ some 150,000 Negroes, and are located in twenty-five States and 120 cities and towns.

Negroes, the League reports, are employed in skilled operations by 154 of the 300 plants. Semi-skilled workers were reported in 247 of the 300 plants, and all of them reported the use of Negroes for unskilled jobs. As to the quality of their work, 215 officials of the 300 plants said they were satisfied with their work. In nine plants, management said they were not as good as white workers, and in fifty plants, Negro workers were described as fairly satisfactory.

In 253 of the 300 plants, the management declared that on the basis of current experience with Negro labor, they would continue with them after the war.

The war has enabled Negroes to set a better record for skilled workmanship than at any previous time in their history. They have shown that they *can* work harmoniously with other races, and that difficulties, such as occur, can be overcome by intelligent cooperation of management and labor, as well as by sound labor leadership. There is plenty of room for improvement in the field of skills as in the field of racial relations; but what already has been accomplished will make it easier for the Negro to ask for the one thing that he desires: no special favors, but a just and equal treatment on the basis of individual merit.

HITLER'S BODYGUARD

ONCE more Hitler has triumphed. He has conquered his domestic enemies and vindicated his position by his old and familiar method: that of the purge and the greater concentration of power. The leftist Nazi element is finally on top.

For the rest of the world, looking in as far as it can look in, the purge appears as an omen of coming collapse and the destruction of the Hitler regime. Mass executions of army officers, murders of top-flight generals may be rationalized by any amount of propaganda, but they are a likely sign of widespread defeatism and disaffection, which eventually will bring the victors themselves to defeat. The events of the past week are an undeniable crisis; though as yet no sign of weakening in the Nazi war resistance is in sight, and certainly no reason is at hand for relaxation on the part of the Allied forces.

Obviously "total mobilization" of all the nation's resources of war, officially proclaimed by Hitler on July 25, is merely another phase of the same crisis. It puts Goering at the head of everything, and Himmler at the head of Goering. And the total concentration of power in the hands of the Nazi party means getting rid, once and for all, of the hereditary aristocracy which was the last remnant of the old order. Even if Germany goes to total destruction, Hitler and his associates will enjoy the carrion comfort that they have accomplished this great end.

The revolt against Hitler, as a military leader, has already taken such shape that it required this terrible purge to vindicate his high command, and the whole nation has to be put into forced labor in order to maintain that vindication. Estimates vary as to the proportion of German citizens who thoroughly detest Hitler and all his works. But most students of German conditions agree that this number is large, and that foremost in the inner anti-Hitler elements are the Catholics, whose religious and moral sense he has so constantly and consistently outraged.

But with all this, it is a serious mistake to judge that Hitler's power is maintained by force and terror alone. His personal bodyguard, his armored car and his frequent changes of residence are not his only protection. With those who have not lost their faith in Hitler—and these are undoubtedly many millions—the Fuehrer functions, strangely enough, as a symbol of the democratic longings of the common man. Hitler rose to power not in the guise of a mighty warrior, but as the lowly man, the bearer in his person of the sorrows and frustrations of all grieved and humiliated people. Those who worship him do so with the notion that the more violent and fanatical Hitler becomes, the more effectively does he give expression to the little citizen's own longings for social and political self-expression. This is the power of the demagog, as distinguished from the power of the despot, and that uncanny power will doubtless last, even if Hitler is personally destroyed and becomes a mere name and memory.

The democratic instinct is ineradicable in the mind of the modern world. Hitler's final bodyguard is a subtle, a perverted and godless but none the less powerful appeal to that very instinct. This "bodyguard" cannot be broken down by mere armed force, nor by sterile and meaningless counter-appeals. That which holds Hitler, or the Hitler-idea, firmly in power can only be canceled when after the war a genuine, truly soul-satisfying answer can be found to that democratic instinct among the German as among all the European peoples. And this will mean enlightened collaboration with the highest spiritual and religious forces within Germany and the other nations.

LITERATURE AND ART

POET IN ANOTHER WAR

JOSEPH LANDY

IT IS twenty-six years since America's most Catholic of poets was killed in action on the soil of France. On July 30, in the midst of the summer campaign of 1918, the brief career of Sergeant Joyce Kilmer came to its tragic close.

When Siegfried Sassoon returned from action in the World War, he declared: "Let no one ever from henceforth say one word in any way countenancing war. It is dangerous even to speak of how here and there the individual may gain some hardship of soul by it. For war is hell, and those who institute it are criminals." With these sentiments Sassoon ceased to be a poet; his works became narrow and depressing. He forfeited the ennobling mission that was his heritage. Joyce Kilmer felt differently when he wrote from a dug-out in France: "Danger shared together and hardships mutually borne develop in us a sort of friendship I never knew in civilian life, a friendship free of jealousy and gossip and envy and suspicion—a fine, hearty, roaring, mirthful sort of thing, like an open fire of whole pine-trees in a giant's castle." Kilmer's few war-poems reflect this spirit; they are positive, refining, uplifting.

Kilmer was a genuine poet, but not a great one. The safest estimation given his poetry is "second class." All his poems are at least moderately good; and some few will certainly last. One critic did not hesitate to say: "Over the shoulders of this green old world is rising the dawn of better things in literature and life. And Kilmer is the blithe herald of their coming." But the "blithe herald" was destined to an untimely silence, and his chance for greatness ceased. Only if we were to measure Kilmer by what he promised rather than by what he achieved could he be reckoned as a great poet.

But Kilmer was a genuine poet; a poet in every pulse of his being. For a poet is the man who perceives the magic of the commonplace; and that Kilmer did by instinct. Only the man who wrote *Delicatessen* and *Grocer Boy* and *Servant Girl* could pen the following lines that Kilmer wrote to his infant daughter from France:

Yesterday morning about six o'clock, I climbed down the mountain to go to Mass. And just outside the village where the Church is, I met a young lady, and walking beside her a pleasant young pig with a pink nose.

"Bonjour, M'sieur!" said the young lady.

"Bonjour, Mam'selle!" I replied.

"Bonjour, M'sieur!" said the pig.

"Bonjour, M'sieur!" I replied.

And the young lady and the pig threw back their heads and laughed heartily and went on to breakfast. And I went on to Mass.

About a month before his death, Kilmer wrote: "If what I now write is considered poetry, then I became a poet in November, 1913." That was the month in which he became a Catholic. When Kilmer found the Faith, he entered fully into its spirit. Without the self-deception of a fanatic he conceived of himself as having a mission, to bring "Catholicism's message to modern pagans." That mission he carried out with an almost scrupulous exactitude. He was not embarrassed by the Church's devotions; he was not ashamed to stand up against the sordid and indecent in

literature; he did not even shun placing his obligations as a Catholic above his obligations as an artist, saying that he would "rather write like John Ayscough than like William Makepeace Thackeray—ininitely superior artist though Thackeray be."

It was during the World War that Kilmer's powers came to their climactic peak. He had been a Catholic poet; he had been a militant Catholic. Now the two fused into the highly romantic and religious soldier. He was described by Father Duffy as "the coolest and most indifferent man in face of danger I have ever seen." And he possessed an eager desire to keep his soul pure and clean amid the daily assaults that army life provided.

Few soldiers have ever penned such sincere and searching letters from the battlefields as did Kilmer. Save for two prose sketches and a few poems, his entire literary output during the war consisted of letters. Most of them are to be found in the two-volume memorial edition of his works published soon after his death. They reveal a soul at once pained by the excesses of mankind that had caused the war and in love with the flesh-and-blood human beings who manned the guns and dodged the shrapnel. The 69th Regiment, "The Fighting Irish," was his regiment. He loved it because it was Irish and was Catholic and was fighting.

Kilmer was glad to go to France; glad because it meant fighting in and for a Catholic country. "We are peacemakers, we soldiers of the 69th," he writes, "we are risking our lives to bring back peace to the simple, generous, gay, pious people of France, whom anyone (knowing them as I have come to know them in the last six months) must pity and admire and love." The poet glowed to find the Faith so radiant among the peasants of France, and enshrined his feelings in an essay called *Holy Ireland*. It is not at all about Ireland. It is about the Irish boys of the 69th who find a kinship of Faith with a French peasant-widow when she affords them a night's lodging. War cannot be an altogether bad thing when it produces portraits as tender as:

There are mists, faint and beautiful and unchanging, that hang over the green slopes of some mountains I know. I have seen them on the Irish hills and I have seen them on the hills of France. I think they are made of the tears of good brave women.

Something of a change came over Kilmer as the war progressed. He had promised to send copy for a war book; had even arranged with the publishers for it. But no copy came. It was not that Kilmer lacked the time. He had been pressed for time before and had somehow managed to do everything he had set his will to perform. Now Kilmer lacked the will. "The only sort of book," he says, "I care to write about the war is the sort people will read after the war is over—a century after it is over!" He was daily scraping against humanity in its more brutal and beautiful aspects. And he found more important things than writing.

I have discovered, since some unforgettable experiences, that writing is not the tremendously important thing I once considered it. You will find me less a bookman when you next see me, and more, I hope, a man.

And in another letter:

To tell the truth, I am not at all interested in writing nowadays, except insofar as writing is the expression of something beautiful. And I see daily and nightly the expression of beauty in action instead of words, and I find it more satisfactory.

Yet, in several places, Kilmer shows concern over the doings of his fellow American writers back home. He expresses the hope that contemporary poetry is "reflecting the virtues which are blossoming on the blood-soaked soil of this land—courage and self-abnegation, and love, and faith—." "When we soldiers get back to our homes and have the leisure to read poetry, we won't read the works of Amy Lowell and Edgar Lee Masters. We'll read poetry, if there is any for us to read, and I hope there will be."

Kilmer's few war poems grew out of spontaneity rather than constraint. *Rouge Bouquet*, certainly one of the greatest of World War poems, reflects his admiration for the Irish boys of the 69th who went down fighting. In two stirring stanzas the ennobling aspect of war is painted. If the heavens are angry with the magnates who make wars, they certainly are not angry with the men who take the last leap across No Man's Land.

Yes, Kilmer loved this aspect of battle; loved it with all the ardor of his ardent soul that sensed God in the heroism that daily shone about him. He literally exults in his position as a Sergeant: "I'd rather be a Sergeant in the 69th than a Lieutenant in any other regiment in the world." Dangerous posts were a thrill to him, and a stay at the front a "wonderful experience." That is the spirit in:

... I wouldn't be back in the States having meatless, wheatless, boozeless, smokeless days for anything. I am a Sergeant now. I spend my time working at regimental headquarters while we are in reserve, and in training when we are in action. I am an Observer in the Regimental Intelligence Section—very amusing work. I had a fine time during the recent activities of our regiment. ...

Still Kilmer's was not a blind and unprincipled enthusiasm. There was more Faith than feeling in the way he bore hardship and faced danger. He writes:

... I think since I have been in France it [the Faith] has done more for me. It has carried me through experiences I could not otherwise have endured. I do not mean it has kept me from fear—for I have no fear of death or wounding whatever. I mean that it has helped me endure great and continual hardships. These hardships are now past—they belong to last December—but I cannot forget what made me live through them and bear myself like a man.

It is in *A Soldier's Prayer* that Kilmer gives his undying expression to this same conviction. It is more a prayer than a poem. Only a Christian who realized that his very name denoted kinship with Christ could give utterance to such words. Out on the fields of France, Kilmer saw the blood-red face of Christ. The beads of His sweat fell over the fields of battle; made them a sanctuary, a place of sacrifice. That was Kilmer's message to the world—that it lift up its eyes and say:

Lord, Thou didst suffer more for me
Than all the hosts of land or sea.

So let me render back again
This millionth of thy gift. Amen.

It is not likely that the postwar planners will enlist the services of the poets in their efforts to establish peace. For poets are proverbially dreamers, not planners. Yet if poets were to be sought out as inspiration to a bullet-ridden world, Joyce Kilmer would not be a bad choice. He did not lose the stuff of which poets are made when he became a soldier. He did not grow narrow and bitter, as did Siegfried Sassoon. He remained true to the poet's positive, refining mission to humanity.

BOOKS

TOO NATURAL HEROINE

LEBANON. By Caroline Miller. Doubleday, Doran and Co. \$2.50

ATMOSPHERE is the best this second novel by the author of the Pulitzer Prize-winning *Lamb in His Bosom* has to offer. By this I do not mean to damn it with faint praise, for it stands high in that order of literature. The cool, damp mystery of the cypress-swamps, the uncanny (to us city bred) intimacy with wild life, the feel of the soil and of growing things—all these run through the whole texture of the book, and are very entrancingly done.

The story itself reminds me a great deal of Henri Bordeaux' *Fear of Living*, with one cardinal difference that I shall mention later. It is simply the bead-roll of the misfortunes and tragedies that wrack, but cannot crush, a valiant woman. Lebanon Fairgale, reared in the back-country, wise in the ways of the woods and bayous, as well as in the mysteries of self-sufficient home-making, misses her true love, marries one not really of her heroic stature, loses him and their son through the pest, finds herself misunderstood and calumniated by neighbors in the western home where she had migrated, finds a suggested peace and understanding at last with the person who had befriended her.

Her character is just a shade incredible and unreal. And that brings in the difference between this book and *The Fear of Living*. Human nature being what it is, it is a rare soul indeed that can sustain the role of *Invictus*, of its own unaided strength. Mounting tragedies, sweeping over one all undeserved, are not borne by unaided human nature without grumbling and resentment. Lebanon is incredibly constant and unbending, and the incredibility rises from the fact that we can see no source of her strength. It is very poetic and "mystic" to have her draw that strength from lonely hours spent in the woods, seeing and drinking in the long patience of nature but, honestly, human life does not work out that way. When a husband and little son are swept away by pestilence, it is something deeper than a contemplation of the sturdiness of the forest that will sustain a soul. Bordeaux' great work on the same theme has credibility because his heroine finds her strength in God. Lebanon is unreal because she leaned upon a reed.

The style of the book is debatable. It is couched in the quaint language Lebanon undoubtedly used; it is filled with antiquarian lore, such as that powdered root and pummeled leaves are good for both sweating and fever, and other old medicinal and culinary lore. It is rather fascinating, but gives the impression of preciosity.

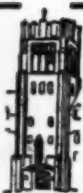
It is a nobly conceived story and worth reading. The nobility of conception would have taken on added strength had the motivation been adequate. HAROLD C. GARDINER

ANGELICUS ANALYZED

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SAINT THOMAS AQUINAS. By Hans Meyer. Translated by the Rev. Frederic Eckhoff. B. Herder Book Co. \$5

TO EVALUATE a genius like Saint Thomas in the light of his sources, his mastery of and improvement of those sources; to trace the architecture of his great system, the timelessness of some of his principles, his eminent influence in the past and the persistence of that influence up to the present, calls for abilities of no mean order. For one thing, it demands a thorough mastery of the history of philosophy, a command of systematic philosophy. Hans Meyer shows that he has these qualifications. When the original German work appeared in 1938, it was acclaimed as a notable achievement.

Others have indeed equaled or even surpassed his acumen in tracing the architecture of the Thomistic system, though perhaps they have not compassed this with more succinctness. But not all have seen the limitations that are there—as in every other work of purely human authorship. Some have criticized Thomism because of their own feeble grasp of the system. Others have shown too much of the "sour grapes" attitude in their criticism. With all his admiration of Saint Thomas, Meyer is not blind to the weaknesses and



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lacunae of the system. But there is no pettiness here and
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Nearly perfect systems of thought and action have, beyond
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nary man, even though he be a philosopher. Besides, they
tend to clip the wings of even brilliant minds and prevent
them from making their own contributions to further prog-
ress. Even clever adherents may end by swearing by the
system, may develop blind spots to the need of further
progress or actual progress by others. Meyer's book is an
antidote for this attitude.

Not all will agree with all of his strictures, but with some
they must. Some will cavil at his emphasis on certain points
which he considers cardinal, and the meager treatment ac-
cording to others. But no one can fail to find his critiques
stimulating.

The book begins with the structure of Saint Thomas'
thought: the historical influences, his contribution to phil-
osophy and a fine analysis of Saint Thomas, the man. Part
Two is devoted to the Structure of Reality, and there are
four great sections: the Structure of Individual Things; the
Hierarchy of the Forms of Being; the Origin and Corrup-
tion of Things and, finally, Order in the Universe. An
evaluation of the work of Saint Thomas follows, and it
contains a plea for further progress which would certainly
be seconded by the Angelic Doctor himself. Of great value
to the student is an appendix which gives a chronological
list of the Saint's works.

The translator deserves the gratitude of English readers
for the smooth translation, though at times he fails to give
parts of the text. Thus, on page 96, he omits the very im-
portant reason for the last sentence of the chapter. There
are two other painful omissions. The author offered copious
text-sources and references to modern works in his footnotes.
The translator gives only one source at times and omits
many of the references to modern works. For some reason
the splendid bibliography, which would have proved a valu-
able *vademecum* to students, has been omitted. Neverthe-
less even with these omissions, American scholarship has
been enriched by this translation. It is a "must" book for
an educated Catholic and one in which non-Scholastic phil-
osophers will be deeply interested. HUGH J. BIHLER, S.J.

NO BARE CUPBOARDS

MOBILIZING FOR ABUNDANCE. By Robert R. Nathan.
Whittlesey House. \$2

THIS book was started in August, 1943, in Washington's
Walter Reed Hospital, and finished there three months later.
All around the author was evidence of the frightful cost of
war in terms of the human factor—"the armless and legless,
many boys with plates in their skulls, some with bad burns
and skin grafts or distorted and rebuilt facial features, and
a number of others with mental afflictions." No more fitting
place could be imagined in which to write a book on our
postwar economic order. As Robert Nathan lay there, recover-
ing from a back injury—he had resigned a key job with
the War Production Board to become an Army private—he
saw clearly that this time there must be no mistake. There
must be no "return to normalcy," with its restricted produc-
tion and unemployment, its cycles of busts and booms. Re-
turning servicemen will demand "steady jobs," and if they
don't get them, watch out for trouble. "The very existence
of the democratic form of government," the author thinks,
"will be threatened if serious depressions are permitted to
occur."

The thesis of this book is that depressions should not
occur; that "it makes absolutely no sense to have plants
closed down and 15 million people out of work, as we had
in 1933, and at the same time the people frantically wanting
the goods and services which could be produced by applying
this idle manpower to the idle equipment." We know the
cause, the author insists, of "unemployment and unsatisfied
wants," and to deal with it we need only understanding and
determination. John Maynard Keynes, an English economist,
has given us the key to understanding; the determination
needed is part of our American heritage.

The war has taught us that, given markets, industry can produce at capacity levels and provide full employment. The problem is, how can we provide peacetime markets to substitute for Government spending during wartime? In the author's words, the answer lies "in bringing about a continuous balance between savings and offsets to savings at levels of full employment." The reasoning on which this statement is based is well expressed in the following paragraph:

As we produce goods and services, we simultaneously generate income or buying power. As long as that buying power is fully spent to buy what is produced, production will be maintained. If that buying power is augmented by expenditures out of credit expansion or out of past savings, increased production can be expected. On the other hand, if any substantial portion of the current flow of income is saved and these savings are not utilized or offset by expenditures from other sources, a decline in production will occur.

Since private investment cannot always maintain the balance between savings and offsets to savings, this task becomes the duty of public authority. The Government must accept responsibility for creating and sustaining an economic environment in which private enterprise can function at a profit. It must tailor fiscal policy to economic needs, spending whenever private offsets to savings are insufficient to maintain full production.

While this book is primarily a simplified application of Keynes' doctrine to the American scene, the author has added chapters on foreign trade, social-security programs and tax policies. He deals also, and very competently, with some of the major problems involved in reconverting industry to peacetime production. Industrialists ought to find *Mobilizing for Abundance* about as stimulating a book as has come from the presses in the last six months. It represents, I think, a trend of thinking in Washington which has been set in motion by the enforced association of New Dealers and businessmen in our common war effort. Whether you agree with Mr. Nathan or not, you will have to admire what Donald M. Nelson calls his "deep insight and broad comprehension of the major economic and social problems the nation will face."

BENJAMIN L. MASSE

AMERICA AND TWO WARS. By *Dexter Perkins*. Little, Brown and Co. \$2

IN OPENING the eighth and final chapter of his account of American foreign relations, 1898-1944, Professor Perkins states: "The past proclaims that 'isolationism' is outworn gospel." The outstanding authority on the Monroe Doctrine thus officially presides at the obsequies of that famous proclamation. The author believes that the American people inevitably become involved in any warfare that tends to become global and, since our nation thus assumes its right to interfere in European and Asiatic affairs, we cannot seriously and logically maintain that Europeans and Asiatics are to refrain from participating in American affairs. All Americans should be made aware of this burial of the Monroe Doctrine.

In the preceding seven chapters the author has stoutly defended practically every action of every official of our State Department in the period since 1898. It is "patriotic" history in all its glory; the spirit of every chapter would have been approved by the Prussian school of historians. At times, however, like all historians who prefer "patriotic" history to that which is factual, Professor Perkins is a bit inconsistent and, at times, somewhat ridiculous as well. After having stoutly maintained for many pages that we entered the First World War because we believed that the principles of Germany were incompatible with those of America, the author bluntly admits: "The occasion of the war into which the United States entered on April 7, 1917 [actually April 6], was the submarine warfare. Without that direct challenge from Germany, it is doubtful if peace-loving America, whatever its partiality for the Allies, would have actually entered the conflict."

The fatal weakness of the League of Nations, the author believes, was its lack of force with which to enforce its decisions. The author is very sympathetic to Wilson, praising his accomplishments and excusing his failures at Versailles, especially with regard to the settlements made with Japan. The author believes we should have entered the League;

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he condemns the neutrality legislation of the period 1935-1937; he unreservedly praises President Franklin D. Roosevelt's foreign policy; he makes no mention of the note sent to Japan on November 26, 1941, by our State Department, and makes a statement which is historically untrue, fatuous and uncomplimentary to the American people as well, when he writes of our entrance into World War II: "A reluctant people had once more been driven into war." Cattle are driven; Americans are not. They pick their own path.

The book may well be recommended to all who require, for their mental ease, a flattering appraisal of recent American foreign policy.

PAUL KINIERY

FOURSCORE YEARS: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By G. G. Coulton. The Macmillan Co. \$4.50

GEORGE GORDON COULTON has the reputation of being an anti-Catholic and an assailant of Catholic medievalists. In his autobiography, *Fourscore Years*, he adequately explains neither position. One easily perceives from certain remarks, and his treatment of various questions, that he is not sympathetic with the Church. He adds a chapter on his own belief—that "Religion, like History, is Experience"—which Catholics will find quite out of harmony with their Faith. One wonders, moreover, how he could really understand the Middle Ages without an appreciation of Catholicism.

Coulton's attacks on Cardinal Gasquet are difficult to understand—even after reading *Fourscore Years*. To one who has read Father Thurston's articles in the *Month*, particularly those of 1937 and 1938, the explanation is still less satisfying. While many will agree with Dr. Coulton that discussion is important, they will also wonder why he has (perhaps unconsciously) not kept within the rules of civility he himself has set down. But Dr. Coulton's history and controversy have been discussed beyond further need.

I had expected an interesting account of some eighty years of English life. I must confess, however, that the book is a great disappointment. I mean no offense when I say the impression is created that Dr. Coulton tells his stories like an old man, who begins one and, before that has been fairly finished, is off on another. Many of the stories also suffer from the unfamiliar locale and the very multiplicity of people who crowd the pages. I have no doubt that many of Dr. Coulton's friends will find much to interest and entertain them, but to those of us who are outside of that circle, the book is rather dull. Besides, to those not thoroughly acquainted with the English public-school system, parts of the book will be unintelligible.

Dr. Coulton will be remembered among medievalists for a long time to come. We lament with one of his friends his "utter incapacity to see anything spiritual or progressive or attractive in medieval civilization." We rejoice, however, in his belief that man is an improving animal, and hope that, in his search for truth, Dr. Coulton will soon come to the realization of the great truth of Catholicism.

JOSEPH R. FRESE

THE PASTORAL CARE OF SOULS. By Rev. Wendelin Meyer, O.F.M. and others. B. Herder Book Co. \$3

THE ASCETICAL LIFE. By Pascal P. Parente. B. Herder Book Co. \$2.50

The Pastoral Care of Souls is a somewhat misleading title, since the book treats of only one phase of a pastor's work, namely, the intellectual instruction of his flock. The book makes for rather heavy reading. Although it is written for the German clergy to help them meet one of the problems in their country, priests elsewhere who read it will find in it a stimulus to review their seminary studies, especially philosophy and dogma, and to acquire "a knowledge of the times and an understanding of the cares that press upon the men of the times."

Despite the fact that the book is a collection of sixteen essays by as many different authors, there is a unity in it arising from the oft-repeated recommendation: explain the doctrines of our Faith. Without denying the importance of sermons on apologetics and morals, the writers stress that there has been too much defending truths not known or understood by the people and too much emphasis on moral principles without explaining their doctrinal basis and without centering people's lives around Christ. So the essays

treat of modern philosophies, the nature of the act of faith, intelligent reading of the Bible, dogmatic schooling, devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, Catholic Action, promotion of literary clubs, especially on doctrinal subjects, etc.

That the people want matter of this kind is evidenced by the demand for dogmatic treatises for lay people and also by the fact that some of the laity are undertaking to write such books themselves. A return to the rejected pure intellectualism of the past is not what is advocated but an intelligent explanation of the religious truths and application of them to the problems of every-day life. Consequently, the priest will have to get down to reviewing his philosophy and theology, studying the psychological conditions of the times, preparing his sermons well and giving the people solid intellectual food.

Fr. Parente's book is the outgrowth of his lectures in ascetical theology at Catholic University. It is a short, orderly and simple explanation of the ascetical life, intended primarily for seminarians and priests. The first of its three divisions deals with the ascetical life in general; the second treats of the three ways of asceticism and the helps and hindrances to each; the last amplifies some special questions, among which are the state of perfection, quietism and retreats. Definitions of terms, use of parallel columns to bring out contrasts, frequent quotations from the Fathers, and a twelve-page bibliography make it a handy book to have around.

JAMES I. O'CONNOR

EISENHOWER, MAN AND SOLDIER. By Francis Trevelyan Miller. John C. Winston Co. \$2

THIS is a "quickie" biography of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces on the European Front. The best part of the 280 pages is a six-page section in which the son of General Dwight D. Eisenhower speaks of his famous father.

The son says his father "has a general interest in everything . . . physical endurance . . . ability to relax . . . reads dime Westerns and sport magazines . . . loves songs such as *Abdul the Bulbul Emir* . . . loves to cook." He adds that "we are examples in contrasts because I am more easy-going."

The author writes an interesting book, although his facts are sparse and the book is too heavily weighted with family-tree data, going back for centuries. JOSEPH HUTTLINGER

FREEDOM FROM FEAR. By Louis H. Pink. Harper and Bros. \$2.50

THE SOUND contention of this book is that domestic and international prosperity are closely related, and that we should accordingly put our own house in good order as a necessary step towards achieving world order. That part of the book which is devoted to domestic affairs contains an interesting and well documented discussion of the different forms of social security. It is also quite up-to-date in its treatment of socialized medicine. On these two questions of social insurance and socialized medicine the author is qualified to speak because of his lengthy service with New York State departments of insurance and hospital service.

People interested in the problems of organized labor will find worthwhile suggestions in a chapter devoted to that topic. And Catholics will be pleased to note the large amount of space allotted to the Papal pronouncements. The author is constructively critical of Federal administrative procedure, without, however, showing precisely how the States will be able to assume their responsibilities.

By giving much attention to parallel British and Canadian programs, the book offers a broad view of social reform, an approach much sounder than an exclusively national one. This book should prove a readable and profitable introduction to the study of social security, as well as an up-to-date review for those who are already acquainted with the problems.

W. A. NOLAN

HUGH J. BIHLER, professor of psychology at Woodstock College, did graduate studies at the University of Vienna.

PAUL KINIERY is President of the Catholic Historical Society.

JOSEPH R. FRESE, with an M.A. in history from Georgetown University, is studying Theology at Woodstock.

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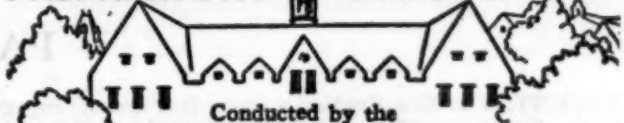
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THEATRE

THE BEST ACTING OF THE SEASON. In an effort to get as much material as possible into a column temporarily curtailed, I begin these comments with a list of the players whose work most appealed to me. Here it is.

Elisabeth Bergner in *The Two Mrs. Carrolls*, Betty Field in *A New Life*, Paul Robeson in *Othello*, Elsie Ferguson in *Outrageous Fortune*, Private Don Taylor in *Winged Victory*, Elliott Nugent, Margaret Sullivan and Aubrey Christie in *The Voice of the Turtle* (a play that left me unenthusiastic, but beautifully acted), Ruth Gordon in *Over Twenty-one*, Eva LeGallienne in *The Cherry Orchard*, Raymond Greenleaf in *Decision*, Oscar Karlweis in *Jacobowsky and the Colonel*, Billie Burke and Frank Craven in *Mrs. January and Mr. X* (another play that left me cold), Cornelia Otis Skinner, Dennis King, Dudley Digges and Montgomery Clift in Lillian Hellman's *The Searching Wind*, William Harrigan as the judge and Pamela Rivers as the unheroic heroine of *Pick up Girl*, Estelle Winwood and Halliwell Hobbes in *Ten Little Indians*.

Here are twenty-two fine players in fourteen plays, not a startling list when one considers that more than eighty plays, good, bad and indifferent, were offered us during the season. Also, I am here listing not good plays but conspicuously good players.

Several of these fourteen offerings did not appeal. These were *The Two Mrs. Carrolls*, whose star so brilliantly saved it from disaster; *A New Life*, too weak for any star to save; *Outrageous Fortune*, to which not even Elsie Ferguson could give vitality. I objected to the morals, or rather to the lack of morals, in *The Voice of the Turtle*. *Mrs. January and Mr. X*, though beautifully played, was a weak play. That lists five plays out of the fourteen, all of which owe such success as they had (and some of it was very brief) to the perfection of their acting. But it leaves us nine good plays magnificently acted.

Miss Bergner, for example, almost set a new standard. Montgomery Clift in *The Searching Wind* was, to my mind, remarkable in the poignant appeal of his work. He was, to perfection, the young soldier who has given a leg to his country, and who, back in America, dazed and bewildered by the lack of understanding around him, finds his chart of life smudged beyond recognition.

Betty Field's superb effort to save her husband's play, *A New Life*, was hampered by the play's subject. Three hours in a maternity ward is strong meat for any audience and Elmer Rice did not overcome that handicap.

But I must hold the remainder of my comments on the season's acting till next week.

ELIZABETH JORDAN

FILMS

DRAGON SEED. Pearl Buck's saga of Chinese fortitude and heroism has been magnificently translated to pictures in this offering. The film is one of such tremendous sweep and magnitude that it is difficult properly to appraise it thus briefly. First of all, this is the sensitive, fervent record of the kindly, peace-loving inhabitants of a picturesque valley where the terrors of war are unknown and almost beyond understanding. Then the enemy comes, raping the land and killing and scattering whole families. But these humble Chinese people learn quickly to defend themselves, and sabotage and extermination of traitors harry the invaders at every point, until finally the old men, who love their land only next to family, submit to the will of the young men and burn the farms rather than allow them to assist the conquerors. The long and capable cast do a remarkable job of making one forget that they are not Orientals; and though their varied accents, speaking the studied, unfamiliar idioms, seem incongruous at first, the illusion grows as the picture progresses. Katharine Hepburn is satisfactorily subdued as Jade, the forceful young wife; Walter Huston is memorable as the patriarch of the clan; Aline MacMahon is outstanding as the mother; Akim Tamiroff is properly despicable as the compromiser; while Turhan Bey, Agnes Moorhead, Henry Travers are some of the others whose portraits leave indelible impressions. Despite its great length, this film manages to gather emotional and suspenseful momentum as it goes. *Adults* will enjoy its beauty and power. (MGM)

SINCE YOU WENT AWAY. War on the home front is eulogized in what might be termed a monster offering, for here is a cast scintillating with enough stars to dazzle the most avid cinema fan, and the feature runs almost three hours—certainly an over-generous portion of celluloid fare. However, despite these handicaps, and a too-obvious tendency to be an out-and-out tear-jerker, this picture is dotted with charming scenes and pieces of characterization. In fact, you will go away remembering these, ignoring completely the background story of a mother's struggle to maintain a normal home life for her daughters after their father has gone to war. Claudette Colbert manages to keep her role of the wife, whose husband is reported missing, from being over-lachrymose, but she is not given material worthy of her talents. Jennifer Jones and Robert Walker as the young lovers whose dreams are shattered at Salerno, build up some of the loveliest scenes in the picture. Joseph Cotten, Shirley Temple, Monty Woolley and Hattie McDaniel give fine delineations. All the family will find it worth their while. (United Artists) MARY SHERIDAN

PARADE

RECENTLY in New England a young lady became engaged to an Army man. The date was set for the wedding, the marriage license procured. Ten days before the wedding, the young lady met a Naval officer. He fell in love with her, proposed. She accepted, and had his name put in the marriage license instead of the Army man's name. The young lady's wedding was held on the scheduled date and according to plan except for one feature—instead of marrying the Army, the young lady married the Navy. . . . In the Midwest a girl in her late twenties married her sixth husband. . . . In New York, a girl in her early twenties wed her fifth. . . . Because of the ever present possibility of divorce, the modern enters into marriage lightly. . . . He has lost sight of the fact that marriage is a lifework of vital importance to both the individual and society. . . . What if he entered a profession as frivolously and as irresponsibly as he enters marriage? . . . What a fantastic spectacle would rise.

SCENE: (George Smith, Mrs. Smith, George Smith, Jr., seated in parlor).

Son: Father, mother, I'd like to talk about my life-work.

Father (looking at watch): I've got an appointment, son. However, I can give you a few minutes.

Mother: I have to go to the Club for a very important meeting, so make it snappy, George.

Son: I have it figured this way. Since deciding to study medicine, I've met several lawyers I like, so I think I'll study law. If I find law incompatible after practising a few years, I plan to go to medical school.

Father (nodding approvingly): Sounds like a good life plan.

Mother: What if being a doctor proves incompatible?

Son: I may try electrical engineering.

Father: Good, good. However, you may find law compatible, or medicine, or something.

Mother: That's right. Anyway it'll be years before you will know, so we won't worry about it now.

Newspaper dispatch: Professor Harold Sappe, President of the Anti-Lifework League, declared yesterday his organization is discouraging millions from staying too long in one line of activity. "We are persuading business men to become doctors; doctors to become lawyers; lawyers to become dentists and so on. Life-work will soon be passé."

The day is already here when marriage is no longer a life-work to millions of people. JOHN A. TOOMEY

ART

THE ENIGMATIC character of much contemporary art has been accompanied by a literature devoted to its explanation. It must be said, however, that this literature has done little to clarify the art for the average person, mainly because art, after all, is created to be looked at and its appreciation is by visual means. The written word, therefore, can have only limited relationship to it.

Yet the fact remains that we live in a period dominated by the written word, and the direct pleasure we should derive from esthetic form and color is impaired by this fact. We look for the type of values and literalness inherent in the literary form, and are confused when we do not find them, not realizing that these are incidental features in visual art.

It is evident, then, that esthetic education was scarcely necessary in other periods of history, as it seems to be at the moment. A greater innocence of eye prevailed, such as is now apt to exist only in artists and children. Ordinary education tends progressively to deaden artistic perception. It seems, however, that a person who is daily involved in a non-literal, esthetic action, such as the Mass, wherein a mentally-conceived set of spiritual ideas are developed around a central truth and transmuted into an esthetic form, should instinctively perceive that it has points of resemblance to the current, pure art.

If one could picture a literal development of the content of the Mass into an action that had the dramatic intensity and expressiveness that is possible from the text, one can also visualize a degradation of the liturgy. When we recall what resulted when something of this kind was done in the musical composition of Masses, we can better perceive how quickly a bad liturgical form becomes an extremely bad artistic form. It is not without significance that the current effort toward purifying and restoring the liturgy, its musical setting and appurtenances, should be paralleled by an effort to purify the arts. While the achievement of this end naturally varies, it is that effort which is at the root of the best of modern art.

Efforts in esthetic education are constantly being made in the Museums. The Museum of Modern Art, in New York, has pioneered in this field, but in a somewhat propagandizing manner and not always to a very good end. The current effort of this kind at the Chicago Art Institute is called *Close-up of Tintoretto* and, from this distance, it has the look of being an intelligently worked-out analysis, suggestive, however, of an arrangement that is too complicated and objective for the end in view. It illustrates a good trend that we may hope will assist in a return to a time when people will again look at art for what it actually is, a visually stimulating and pleasurable experience, and not for what the literary standard has made them, mistakenly, think art should be.

BARRY BYRNE

CORRESPONDENCE

THE FAITH AFLOAT

EDITOR: January, February and March issues of your always absorbing review have reached us lately through the kindness of Catholic agencies. I found the articles of Chaplain McGuire and Mr. Stephen B. Earley on the general subject of religion in war most inspiring. With a copy of *Time* at hand, in which a member of the Society of Jesus made comment on the same topic, I have been interested to find others concluding as I have.

My present assignment as a naval officer is to have charge of a U. S. Navy gun crew aboard a merchant tanker. My men number twenty-six, of whom eight are of the Catholic Faith. During a protracted voyage away from the States, I have learned to take my Faith where I can find it, and this often means going without Mass or Communion for two months.

There is an especially fertile field for Catholic Action by laymen among the smaller units of servicemen who go for long weeks without seeing a priest, whether Chaplain or civilian. Officers can be especially active in guiding their

men to church when one is at hand. Prudence is necessary, however, since the men often resent what is sometimes construed as undue interference in their private lives.

Despite the best efforts of the Army and Navy Chaplains Corps, even large groups are often without spiritual guidance. There was the case of one big transport which carried 1,500 Catholics and no priest. A Red Cross worker aboard the vessel held daily recitations of the Rosary, using her attractive personality and friendly nature to bring the men to their knees.

We halted but a few hours in port once and I felt awfully lucky to get a Port Chaplain aboard for Communion. He hadn't finished hearing confessions when it was time to shove off. He rode out of the harbor with us, busy as we went, and came back on a pilot boat. That a priest should work so hard to bring God to them was an inspiration to the men.

Somewhere in Service

LAWRENCE R. McDONNELL

HOSPITALIZATION BILL

EDITOR: Referring to the Wagner-Murray-Dingell hospitalization bill, which should be of interest to those who believe in private and voluntary medical enterprise, I think that it would be fair, democratic and acceptable to all men of good will if an amendment to it would provide a means for ascertaining the cost of such a project to the individual taxpayer and would give him the choice of directing that his hospitalization tax go toward the support of either a private or public hospital.

Incidentally, the same plan could be applied to private and public schools.

Winthrop, Mass.

JOSEPH P. HIGGINBOTHAM

OLD-SCHOOL TIE

EDITOR: I have no desire to start an international controversy in your pages but I feel I must take issue with E. J. D. on the opening phrase of *The Facts of Life* (July 15), to wit: "In England justified resentment against the privileges of 'The Old School Tie'..."

The phrase has virtually no connection with the subject matter of the article: it puts one in mind of the methods described in your pages not long ago (*AMERICA*, Jan. 1, 1944) as being used by *Time* and *Life*: i.e. to slip in among well-substantiated or easily verifiable facts some pet notion of the author or editor: or it reminds one of our Dean Inge (of whom some wit said that he could never make up his mind whether he was a pillar of the Established Church or two columns of the *Evening Standard*) who, writing in the Press about a wide variety of subjects, can seldom resist an unsupported, and rather often even parenthetical, crack at Rome.

The Old School Tie is a fairly controversial domestic subject within England itself, but it is not one which I take to be of much interest to *AMERICA*, or America, or the Church; hence my reluctance to provoke an argument. However, if it is not a matter for discussion in your pages, the phrase quoted above is quite unjustifiable and (I hate to say it) in rather poor taste; if, on the other hand, the matter is one that concerns the readers of *AMERICA*, let us have an open discussion of it rather than slick insertions of unsupported views in irrelevant articles.

Washington, D. C.

STEPHEN DEACON

INFORMATION, PLEASE

EDITOR: A comprehensive bibliography of writings on Gerard Manley Hopkins is to be published shortly. I should appreciate references to less known articles, reviews of books, etc., on Hopkins from your readers. Titles of graduate theses and items in school periodicals are especially desired.

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THE WORD

PULLING the wool over one's own eyes is the most foolish of sins and difficult to eradicate. It is, too, one that estranges us most subtly and decisively from the spirit of Christ. There is no wonder, then, that Our Divine Lord speaks so stringently against it in the parable that makes up the Gospel for the tenth Sunday after Pentecost (Luke 18:9-14).

We all remember the story of the Pharisee and the publican. We know Our Lord's utter condemnation of the proud man who gave hypocritical thanks that he was not like the rest of men and especially not like the miserable publican who, he thought, befouled the temple by using it while he was boasting there. We know Our Lord's praise of the poor man who acknowledged that he was a sinner and prayed for mercy.

The Pharisee's sin was a most foolish one, because he fooled no one but himself. And it was the sin—and is today for all infected by it—that sunders utterly from the spirit of Christ, because one of Our Divine Lord's most striking of characteristics, indeed, perhaps the fundamental virtue of all that adorned His human soul, was His utter devotion to truth.

By this we do not mean simply that He told no lies. That, of course, was impossible to Him. His passion for truth was the ability to plumb to the very essence of men and things, to see the reality at the core of deeds and attitudes, to evaluate worth with utter accuracy and impartiality, to castigate evil and pretense with zeal and fearlessness.

We can never even approach putting on the spirit of Christ unless we have as our steadfast and devoted aim this same truthfulness, above all with ourselves. We must be prepared to acknowledge the truth of what we are, be that acknowledgment painful or pleasant.

But what are we? Oh, we are so many things, but the Mass brings to focus two things that we are and which we can never forget—not if we are minded to be Christ-like in spirit. We begin the Mass with the Psalm that professes our weakness and sinfulness, we make public confession of that in the *Confiteor*, throughout the whole of the Sacred action we repeat in varying tones and phrases the prayer that was so humbly made by the publican: "Lord, be merciful to me, a sinner."

But that is not all we are. We are now, through God's grace, won for us and shared with us by Christ, wonderfully marvelous creatures. God has not only "marvelously founded human nature"; He has "still more marvelously reformed" it, recreated, revived it. It is now worthy to share in, to partake of, His Divine nature. It is now worthy, not of itself, but through Christ, to grow into Christ through the consumption of His Sacred Body and Blood.

These are two truths that God knows about us, that Christ sees in us, and that we have to see and face with all their tremendous practical consequences. If we are truly the sons of God and yet prone to sin and sinners, how instant need we be to root out the sinfulness, so the Divine kinship may grow and shine out.

But to root it out, we must recognize it for what it is. Our little meannesses and pettiness, our selfishness, our bent to extol our surface righteousness and push back into the soul's dark closets the self-satisfaction that may enter into otherwise most holy actions—all these we must face in the spirit of truth that ruled and made so pellucidly clear the human character of Christ.

And the facing of them for us is not a discouraging task. It is with no sense of hopelessness, of being faced with an utter impossibility that a follower of Christ recognizes himself just absolutely for what he is, for he always has that two-fold realization: if he is in all truth a sinner, he is, with every bit as much truth, the object of God's Infinite Love. With such a realization, with such a truth to bulwark him, how can he not lessen daily the sinfulness, so that the Sonship may grow? Humility and a courageous pride come to us, if we are like the poor publican; a fool's paradise is all the Pharisee can lay claim to.

How true the old Greek spoke when he said: "Know thyself!" But the Christian must add: "As Christ knows you."

H.C.G.

College of Mount Saint Vincent

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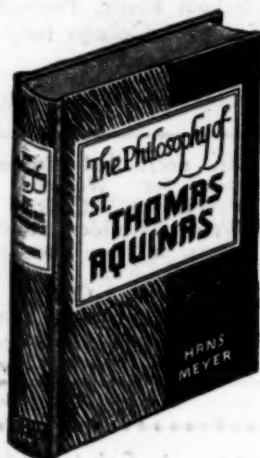
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